1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

of accepting help in the laundering of stained garments. If the substance furnished is moist, the witch secures it firmly with vegetable fibres and places it in a *renü*. If the material is dry it is cast into a fire. In either event, the victim is supposed to grow thin, sicken, and die, as the substance dries out or is consumed.

Another technique involves the use of similar materials which the sorcerer contrives to introduce into an unsuspecting victim's food. Should a client fail to procure the usual body stuff employed, a witch may prepare a poison, *funapue*, made from the body of a type of lizard known as *fillkuñ*. Those who consume such poisons are supposed to die within six months.[6]

An interesting example of contemporary sorcery practices was related by the Reverend Harry Donaldson. About 1931, while he was living at the home of Juan Antinao in Cautinche, a *machi* made repeated efforts to kill him.[7] For her first attempt she butchered a sheep stolen from Antinao's flock, performed some rites over it, smeared some of its blood on several coins and notes, and scattered them in conspicuous places. Mr. Donaldson picked them up and spread them through the community while purchasing supplies. When no harm befell him, the *machi* left some of the slain beast's flesh on Mr. Donaldson's doorstep, and he fed it to the dogs. After a time the *machi* announced that Christian power was stronger than hers and desisted from further efforts.

BELIEFS REGARDING SICKNESS

One of the most interesting aspects of Mr. Donaldson's narrative is the fact that witchcraft was attempted by a *machi*. Ethnological literature contains many instances of a close correspondence between sorcerer and shaman, but on the whole Araucanians do not equate *kal·ku* and *machi*. They recognize

[6] Widespread belief in poisoning through sorcery explains why the Araucanians perform autopsies to determine the cause of death.

[7] It was a *machi* who was using her supernatural power to perform sorcery. Since *machis* are the religious leaders of the Mapuche they are violently opposed to Christian clergymen.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

727 The disbanding of the army after a campaign took place without any order, each unit taking the nearest route for his home. The same happened after a defeat.

761 *Burials.*—All deaths, save those caused by battle or combat, were supposed to be the effects of supernatural causes or sorcery. If a person died from the results of a violent accident it was supposed that the *huecuvus* or evil spirits had occasioned it, frightening the horse to make it throw its rider, loosening a stone so that it might fall and crush the unwary, temporarily blinding a person to cause him to fall over a precipice, or some other expedient equally fatal.

763 In the case of death from disease, it was supposed that witchcraft had been practised and the victim poisoned. On a death of this kind occurring, the first thing done, if the person were of any rank, was to practise the autopsy (*cupon*), which consisted in opening the side of the deceased, and extracting the gall-bladder to discover the poison used, and also to obtain a clue as to the guilty person. These customs still prevail in a large number of localities.

781 754

The gall is emptied into a small earthenware platter, and calcined over a slow fire. The colour of the residue indicates the class of poison used. The colours generally recognised are six in number: white, black, blue, yellow, red, and viscous brown.

The corpse is then hung in a wicker frame, from a *roble* (kind of oak), and under it a fire of green *canelo* wood is kept smouldering till such time as the perpetrator be found and punished.

This evil worker was generally pronounced by the *machi* to be a malignant spirit, who had taken the form of a beast, bird, reptile, or insect, and whose identity was revealed to him in a trance. Frequently these agents are distinguished by some peculiarity or unusual colour which makes it extremely difficult for the relatives to encounter its simile for the sacrifice that is necessary, before proceeding with the burial.

764 When, as sometimes happened, the *huecuvu* has taken some impossible form, the *machi* allows the interment to take place, sacrificing in its place some other animal, usually a sheep. The coffin is not always of the same pattern or material. Sometimes it is a wickerwork basket, at others a box or shell made from rough hewn slabs, and frequently a tree trunk split in two and hollowed out, each half having the form of a canoe. Originally, the last form may have been intended to provide a means of embarkation to cross over to the island of Mocha, the supposed starting place for their future abode.

When the day is fixed for the burial the whole village, or tribe in the case of a chief, assemble before the hut of the deceased to take part in the mourning and wake. Each one brings some present of food or liquor for the feast, or some offering for the interment.

The lamentations and funeral chants alternate with onslaughts on the provisions and liquors provided for the occasion, and continue that day and the greater part of the night. On the following day the corpse is dressed in its newest clothes,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

OMENS OF DEATH

763 Death can be expected in a place near which nocturnal calls of certain animals are heard. In Alepúe area the cry of a fox indicates a death within a year; within several years after the call note of the pun'chiukü (bird) or that of the guadrado (bird) is heard. The guadrado's call note sounds like that of a kitten. (The interpreter explained: "Light at night is found in a Mapuche ruka only when there is a sick person in it. These birds are probably attracted by the light, fly toward it, and, of course, do their screeching there.") In all areas death is forecast by the nocturnal cries of an invisible bird known as choñchoñ, which also forecasts sickness (cf. pp. 109-110). "I had just come home from visiting a sick boy," said a non-Araucanian herbalist, "and was having a cup of tea. It was late in the evening. A young boy came running in to me, and in frightened tones said, 'I just heard the choñchoñ sing, and I know someone will die.' The sick boy whom I had visited died within a few hours. It is such coincidences that clinch beliefs."

CAUSES OF DEATH

761 Unless death is due to an accident, violence, or suicide, it is believed to be unfailingly the result of poisoning administered either directly or through witchcraft, "except in the early days when our men were also killed by the enemy." Usually, death follows sickness. Instant [278] death has been brought about, however, in Panguipulli area, by mixing a few drops of the venom of a frog found in the area, a potent poison, with food or drink. To obtain the venom, a number of live frogs are shaken vigorously in a drumlike container. Infuriated with this treatment, they spit forth a dark venom.

Poisonous commercial drugs are not known, generally. "I recall an instance in Villarrica," said a non-Araucanian, "where, at a Mapuche fiesta, a Chilean puma hunter showed Mapuche men strychnine that he used in his puma hunting; a Mapuche wanted to buy some. Instead of selling him strychnine, the Chilean sold him alum. Later the Chilean ate a meal, upon invitation, at the ruka of this Mapuche and drank there chicha in which the Mapuche had put the alum."

761 In Coñaripe it is believed that death will come upon a person who 215 lets himself be photographed, or "if he will not lose his life, he will lose something, something like his spirit. If my mother will not allow

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

you to photograph her while she sets up her loom, I shall set it up and let you photograph me. And I shall also prepare the warp and do a little weaving for you, so that you can get photographs with a weaver on them. My mother believes that if she is photographed she will have to die." Five young men talked with humor of having to die soon, since a picture had been taken of them.

DEATH

When it is evident that a person is dying, relatives are notified—that is, all those who bear the same name as his, or are of the same lineage. They stay with the bereaved family, and later near the dead person's remains, until the burial, except for such time as is needed to care for animals at home. During the days of waiting for death a cow or sheep belonging to the dying person is slaughtered by relatives and consumed; if necessary, a second one is slaughtered for the wake.

The dying person—man, woman, or child—is clothed in his best clothes. If his family adheres strictly to the old customs, a band will be put over the forehead of a man and tied in a knot on the side of his head, "like men formerly wore them." A woman's hair is held in position by means of her silver ornaments; her breast ornaments and stickpins are also worn. Feet are bare, unless the dying person has a pair of shoes. "I was present when a man dressed his dying wife in her jacket and skirt," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. "The man wanted to know from me whether he should put the women's best shoes on her or an older pair. I suggested the older pair, and that someone else might wear out the better pair. Just then the woman's mother came nearby and the man consequently put the best shoes on his wife." No facial or skin decorations were used.

During the present study a non-Araucanian herbalist was present at the death of a 17-year-old youth in Alepúe. What she then observed, she was later told, was traditional: When she arrived at the ruka, the young man, then dying, lay with feet toward the entrance of the ruka, which was also toward the fireplace. The entrance was the one generally used; on previous visits she had found the young man lying with feet toward the side entrance. The following relatives (the young man's father was deceased) were squatted in the ruka: the mother, maternal uncle and aunt, paternal uncle and granduncle. A neighboring man, his wife, and their young son were also present. The mother was at the left, near the head of her dying son; the herbalist was directed to sit in the corresponding place to the right at his head,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

763 a place, it appeared, reserved for her. The other women were squatted in a row on the man's left; his brothers (he had no sisters) were in a row at his right; the other men and the boy were on their haunches in a semicircle between the fireplace and the main entrance. The dying youth, dressed in shirt, sleeveless sweater, and pants, but barefoot, lay on the wool side of a sheep pelt on the ground; his head rested on a roll made of a black shawl. Shortly before he became unconscious—he lost consciousness about 15 minutes before he died—the paternal uncle and one of the other men put shoes on him. Immediately following death, the mother's sister secured the jaw in normal position by tying a cloth about it, and the men then changed the clothes he was wearing to his best ones, which were lying on a log nearby. (Generally, the herbalist noted, a dying person is first completely stripped of all clothes and then clothed in his best ones before he loses consciousness.) His face was then covered with a piece of cloth. At this point the informant set out for home. She was certain that the usual things were done next: the body was laid on a low platform made by resting planks on log sections and covering them with sheep pelts or a blanket and then covering the body with a blanket also. Neither face nor body was again uncovered.

While the young man was still conscious, the herbalist noted, persons present talked about his wake. Among other things, one said, "We do not have enough sugar for yerba maté; we shall have to send someone to Valdivia for some [an all-day trip]. If he dies tonight, we shall need it by tomorrow." Another asked, "Who will make the coffin for him?" (The man who generally made the coffin had gone to Villarrica.)

THE WAKE AND BURIAL

764 According to Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 734-735) rites and observances connected with death and mourning differed somewhat according to period and region and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. Chief characteristics were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females and sometimes rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor to honor the deceased (awn or awün rite), and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of blood specimens or the gall bladder of the dead person, the human or supernatural agent that caused the death; extracting the viscera and smoking the body on a frame with a fire of canelo wood which gives off dense fumes; keeping the body

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

DEATH, AND BELIEF IN LIFE AFTER DEATH

CAUSES OF DEATH, OMENS OF DEATH

Of the causes of death, sorcery is believed to be the chief one. Always a person is the causative agent. Quilaquina informants suspected an old man in the area of having brought sickness to some persons and death to many. His activity was omened, but his method of inflicting sickness or death was not known. Causes of death other than sorcery were accident, violence, and poison secretly administered.

Accounts of omens of death always included a being called choñ-choñ. The sounds of choñchoñ are like the call of a bird in flight and are heard only at night; consequently, choñchoñ is spoken of as a nocturnal bird. A non-Araucanian told the following regarding choñchoñ as an explanation of one cause of sickness and death: "These Araucanians believe that a person can send his intelligence to another person in the form of a bird to do harm to that person—in most cases to cause death. The bird they call choñchoñ. One morning some years ago my Araucanian maid said, 'I am leaving. While in the orchard last evening, I heard choñchoñ say 'Tua, tua, tua.' Then he flew past me and said "Sh-h-h-h-h." Death will most certainly come to someone in this place. I am leaving.'" An Araucanian in her late sixties had heard choñchoñ say "Te, te, te, te." "Everyone," she said, "takes notice when choñchoñ is heard. One will say, 'What is that? What is that?' 'Yes, what is it?' another will say. 'Yes, that is it!' says still another. Recently, at a wake we heard 'Te, te, te, te' over there, then over here, and then over there. No one seems to know what it is that gives that call. But whoever sends choñchoñ intends no good."

An 80-year-old woman reasoned: "But maybe choñchoñ is a spirit. You can be sitting here, and suddenly you will hear him at your feet, then over there [at the rafters], then outside. But you cannot see him; no one ever sees him. His sounds frighten people, for they know that now someone will soon die." A listening-in man, in his thirties, added, "I have heard choñchoñ. He says 'Twi, twi, twi.' It is always a total surprise when you hear him. I, too, have felt his presence at my feet and on the ground close by."

In addition to the calls of choñchoñ, it is believed that death is omened in dreams, and also by seeing a spirit or sensing its presence. Kolupan's father had told him that dreams that forbode death in the dreamer's family are those in which a knife is broken, or a cow, horse, or ox dies. "I have never had dreams exactly like those that my father told me about," he added, "but I have had similar ones; and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

763 787 always following one, someone died. Before my first wife died, I dreamed that I was curled up with cramps, curled up like a newborn baby is. That is the position she was in when she died."

As an example that sensing the presence of a being omened death, a woman in her middle sixties repeated what her mother had told her: "A man was killed in a fight. After this his wife and baby lived alone —the baby was so small that it was still being tied to its cradleboard. They had no close neighbors. One night the spirit of the man came into the house. His wife recognized the spirit immediately and was frightened. The man squatted at the fireplace, ate, and drank chicha. The woman became more and more frightened as she watched him eat. She crawled backward to the wall of her house. When he finished eating he kissed the baby and vanished. Two days later the baby died."

A woman in her eighties often felt someone pulling at the hem of her skirt. "I believe it is my deceased husband who does so. Once I heard three raps which I discovered later meant to tell me that my daughter would die; she died soon after this. My sister once heard loud sobbing but saw no one. Following this, she saw footprints of a very small child around the fireplace. Later a relative died."

754 Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians believed that machi who were also sorcerers caused slow death by poisoning. The wife of a non-Araucanian estancia owner told the following (in 1951): "About six weeks ago one of our most faithful and intelligent Araucanian workmen asked for time off to go home; his brother was sick, he said. After several days he returned, very sad. His brother, he said, would die. Would we let him have lumber to make a coffin? 'Your brother may get well again,' I said. 'Why make a coffin before he has died? As long as he is alive, you must hope that he will recover.' He listened and then said, sadly, 'No, he will die. The machi treated him and said that he cannot live.' My husband and I and other non-Araucanians often said that the machi gives the sick person poison which will bring on a slow death; without fail, today, after the machitun has been made over a sick person, the person lives but a short time."

DEATH, WAKE, BURIAL, MOURNING

763 Formerly, when death was imminent, relatives came to the dying person's home, where they were fed and housed until after the burial. This tradition, to which has been added that of burning candles, is still carried out in Quilaquina and Trumpul. "This is often a hardship today, for it means slaughtering several large animals, of which we have too few as it is."

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

775 as evidenced by the thunder (of Spanish cannon) in the sky. They live and dress in the traditional manner. Their tools and other paraphernalia show no Chilean influence. And so forth. Actually, the descriptions of afterlife conjure up a picture of early reservation-period society and culture, by which time a number of important changes had taken place in the Mapuche way of life.

775 There is a universal belief among the Mapuche that spirits
787 return to earth and make their presence known in dreams. These are called "dream spirits" (*peuma*), indicating another change in the essence of departed spirits. Sometimes their presence is regarded as a portent of evil—a sign of death, illness, misfortune—especially if a spirit comes in search of a particular person, as revealed in the dream. Still, if the person sought out has no special reason for anxiety, the return of an ancestor might well be considered a good omen, depending on the circumstances of the dream and the events of actual, day-to-day life experienced by the person. The dream is usually tailored to fit the worldly ambition or fear, of one kind or another, of the dreamer. Spirits help their kinsmen locate objects, such as lost animals, misplaced or stolen items of value, and so forth. Such revelation is always interpreted as a good sign. Nevertheless, because it has returned to the world of the living, the danger of a spirit succumbing to the forces of evil is always present.

775 Returned spirits make their presence known in a number of ways besides their appearances in dreams. They remain near the house for the purpose of observing the living, to watch over their former possessions, or to take one of their family with them to the afterworld. People become aware of their presence through unexplained noises, household objects found out of place or knocked over, whisperings in the rafters at night. But there is no pervasive fear of the dead as such. The dead must appear in some guise associated with misfortune before the Mapuche become alarmed, although they are always somewhat uneasy about the possibility of a spirit's falling prey to *kalku*. A person
• 763 who has had imminent death revealed to him by the coming of
775 an ancestral spirit in a dream is not necessarily reduced to a state of panic—although this sometimes occurs—and might react in various ways. An old man or woman might become resigned to

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

death, especially if the present life has become difficult. Young people, however, do not yield easily to "fate," as an old person might. Resistance to the summoning spirit can take several forms. 763 775

One method, already mentioned, is the staging of *amulpellun*, an encirclement of the house by riders who try to drive away the spirit. If the spirit shows no signs of having departed, it is felt that it might have been captured by a *kalku*. Resort is then made to the services of a *machi*, who grapples with the forces of evil in order to rescue the spirit before it is itself converted into a malevolent being, a ghost. If the case is considered hopeless, if it is felt that the spirit is irrevocably in the clutches of a *kalku*, the members of the household again consult a *machi* who advises them about the performance of certain magical acts which will protect them. There ensues a period of uneasiness, until one of the members of the household actually sickens and dies or until dreams and other omens indicate that the danger has passed. An infallible omen is the flight of birds—hawks of the sun—at the propitious moment, and in one or another special direction. If a troubled person seeks out a sign—usually in the wilderness, called the *monte*—from ancestral spirits, these may appear to him in the form of hawks of the sun. If, then, the hawk(s) describes a number of circles to the right of the supplicant, good fortune is presaged. If the bird circles to the left, the dream experience is reinforced or the presence of the ancestral spirit is interpreted as a sign of certain misfortune. 775 789 754 [756] 775 787 825

One might also go to the graves of his ancestors to make a small offering to their spirits and to *ñenechen*. This may occur after a disturbing dream or at any time of crisis. It is customary to tidy one's ancestors' graves as a safeguard against their feeling neglected by the living. In those cases in which death has been presaged, this maneuver is recognized as of little efficacy in averting death. It is merely a general precaution and serves to smooth out the more petty difficulties of everyday life. If a person is desperately worried about his fortune, feeling that he has been marked for death, he will most likely visit a *machi* for advice and assistance. But this is costly, not always successful, and always dangerous. It is not resorted to lightly. Therefore, if the details of the dream or the forecasts do not seem to be borne 775 787 763 [769] [756]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

out during the subsequent days or weeks, a person is tempted to discuss the matter with relatives, especially with knowledgeable elders, eschewing the services of the shaman. If one's relatives place a harmless interpretation on the omens, the matter comes to an end with continued good fortune. This occurs with great frequency, as might be imagined. It is usually not until a person actually sickens that he seeks out a *machi*.

In general, ancestral spirits are felt to live with kindred souls in the afterworld. The Mapuche do not appear to conceptualize this arrangement in any great detail, at least not without the encouragement of the visiting anthropologist. They speak of the social relationships among their ancestors in a vague and general manner, merely stating that "things" are pretty much as they are in Mapucheland, except that life in the afterworld is easier and better. It seems of significance that ancestral chiefs look after the well-being of the living, not the dead. In turn the responsibility for the eternal ease or beatitude of the dead lies with the living. The social structure of the ancestral world is, therefore, clearly meshed with that of contemporary Mapuche society and is not an entity completely apart. These pneumatic ancestral spirits, after all, comprise direct links between mortals and the major and minor deities.

As already indicated, it is of analytic value to make a distinction between degrees of relationship between the living and the dead. A word at this point, therefore, may not be amiss with regard to mythical and authentic ancestors, and the ranks of deity. Mythical ancestors are included among those generalized deities supplicated on a regional, but apparently not on a pan-Mapuche, basis. For example, two ancestral figures who drowned in the Toltén River near where it empties into the Pacific Ocean are today visible in the form of birds (hawks of the sun) which occasionally appear at the *ñillatun* ceremonies held by the residents of the region. Genealogies have obviously been fabricated with respect to these figures, and they are what I consider generalized ancestors, regional deities of the lower echelon, figments of a maturing, local mythology. They are one step in the hierarchy above authentic ancestors, also shrouded in myth, who head distinct descent groups among the contemporary Mapuche. Strong lineal ties are expressed between members of descent groups and their authentic ancestors, regardless of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

825 787 *witiftu* are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their presence is a good sign.

776 ***Arumko*** and ***shompalwe*** are considered human forms with animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a swamp creature on one occasion, then as an *anchimallen* (a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The ***shompalwe*** is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

821 787 *Natural Phenomena.* *Cherufe* comprise such natural phenomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other aereolites, whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky), and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of *kalku* and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean *duende*, and there is a tendency to generalize *duende* to cover all *wekufe* as well. Fire emanating from *cherufe* portends death when passing near a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere.

[372] [763] *Ghosts.* While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attributes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English. Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and pneumatic spirits in the connection and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children who died before the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) and received no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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or lodged in the rafters somewhere near the smoke escape. Although I did not witness this practice, detailed descriptions of the procedure and of the stench of the corpse during the early stages of preservation, besides freely offered evaluations of the depression of household members under such circumstances, lend credence to accounts of this sort. It is said that the viscera is removed by a *machi*, who is paid well for the service. Removal of the viscera is usually done not simply to aid in the preservation of the corpse, but in order that the *machi* may perform an autopsy to determine the exact cause of death. The Mapuche report that there are few autopsies performed nowadays, which seems to indicate that smoking of the corpse is equally rare. However, although not commonly effected, it does exist in practice and as an ideal tribute to the dead. The important aspect for this study, in any case, is that the corpse is not quickly disposed of, not immediately interred in its final resting place, but is handled in a deliberate, temporary manner which may be singled out for analytic purposes as the first phase of the funeral ceremony. In effect, final burial is secondary burial.

[756] [763]

After the corpse is washed and clothed in its finest garments, it is placed for display on a *llañi* or *mellel* (each signifying a bier or altar, likewise used for the burning of offerings in the *ñillatun* ceremony). It is retained in the house for an ideal period of four days or a multiple thereof, a period which is said to be extendable, even nowadays, to several months. In the burials which I observed, however, the corpse was retained in the house for no more than eight days (in only one case), and usually for four days. If there is already a coffin (*huampu*) on hand, the deceased is placed in it and the coffin placed on the bier. Occasionally coffins are made of a tree trunk split and hollowed in canoe shape, but most people purchase pine boxes manufactured in nearby towns. There is a very close connection between the preservation of traditional methods of displaying and interring the corpse—delayed burial, canoe-shaped coffin, and other things—and the ability of the family to afford the higher cost of a traditional funeral. It is difficult and time-consuming to provide the corpse with an oxskin wrapping and a canoe-shaped coffin. The skin must be prepared and the tree felled and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

755 thungulmachin. She told my father that only the kalku could
756 reprieve the life of my sister, and that this was unlikely. She
159 said that she could do nothing, but that my father should call upon his own ancestors and fesechen. Two days later my sister died.

761 When death occurs there is sometimes a desire on the part of
763 the deceased's closest relatives to determine its exact cause. Ex-
787 actness in such cases is within certain flexible limits. There is no way except through the intervention of shamans to find out the exact sorcerer, and even less chance that the exact evil-wisher, the *kalku*'s client, will be discovered. Divination in the form of autopsy, still practiced by the Mapuche, is therefore designed to comfort the living relatives by showing that death has been caused by some irresponsible force of evil. The following story points this up significantly. It was told me by the son of a *thungulmachin*.

My father was a thungulmachin, a machi's helper. He was her grandson and she taught him many things, because she loved him. He learned much from her and could often diagnose illness, but he had no power. He never tried to become a machi.

One time, after my great-grandmother died, my father was called upon to diagnose a case all by himself. It was the body of a dead little boy. His people were afraid that his spirit had been [553] taken by a kalku, and that he might become an anchimallen, since he was still without a name [i.e. had not undergone the lakutun naming ceremony].

My father took his knife and cut open the boy's stomach, finding a ball of water inside after he withdrew the intestines. He said that showed the boy had been killed by an arumko [a water spirit]. The people were happy he had not been taken by a kalku. They paid my father well.

Bones, appendix, and liver are all used in determining supernatural causation, and divination results in fairly non-[178] specific interpretation of this sort. *Machi* say that they do not perform autopsy often nowadays, although almost all of them claim to know how to interpret the signs, having learned to make these judgements during their training period. They say that people no longer demand that autopsies be made; that once

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

a person dies people assume that they themselves are in grave supernatural danger, autopsy or not.

A simple method of divining the cause of death, and therefore the extent to which the survivors themselves are threatened, is to place a bowl of flour near the head of the corpse. If some of the flour is gone after the night passes, the person's spirit has eaten it, which indicates that the spirit *is* hungry and well and not in the hands of *kalku*. It is again a consoling notion, and much less expensive than the services of a specialist.

Machi claim that they are difficult to persuade to perform counter magic against a *kalku*. While such enterprise is entirely legitimate, it places the *machi* in the same general camp with the *kalku* and, if the people are at all suspicious of her, could ruin her reputation. People tend to confirm this claim, saying that *machi* no longer perform magic directly against sorcerers, at least not against professional sorcerers. *Machi*, therefore, content themselves and their clients with preventing death and curing illness by chasing away evil spirits, rather than by killing witches (i.e. causing their bodies to die) and releasing the captured spirits. At the death of a patient, then, a *machi* usually has no further service to offer.

Machi always operate in an atmosphere charged with danger, but they see a great difference between chasing away evil spirits sent by a *kalku* and killing the *kalku* herself. Although *machi* do not like to deal directly with *kalku*, they are not reluctant to discover them, which is much less dangerous. This is generally done in a ceremony called *kalkutun*.[1] The ceremony lasts a long

[1] I have never witnessed this ceremony, but I managed to persuade a *machi* friend to enact a modified version of it. The ceremony followed the basic pattern suggested in the vignettes above. In the darkened room, the (denied) ventriloquism was very effective. From time to time, the *machi* threw straw on the fire and, so comers of the room became lighted momentarily, threw her voice in that direction. My wife's supposed inability to produce offspring was the occasion for this ceremony. The diagnosis was *luftun*—emasculation of the husband by a woman who had borne him a child out of wedlock. The *machi* left I knew who practiced *luftun* against me. We were told to sip from two bottles of medicine every morning and evening for the next month. After the stated period passed, my wife became pregnant. It should not be difficult to imagine the impact on the local people of this "international" power of the *machi*.